



40.

S. Deger-Jalkotzy

Elateia and Problems of Pottery Chronology

in: Α' Διεθνές Διεπιστημονικό Συμπόσιο. Η Περιφέρεια του Μυκηναϊκού Κόσμου, Λαμία 25–29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1994 (Lamia 1999) 195–202

© Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού ΙΔ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων Τ. Α. Π. Α.
mit freundlicher Genehmigung / with kind permission

Dieses Dokument darf ausschließlich für wissenschaftliche Zwecke genutzt werden (Lizenz CC BY-NC-ND), gewerbliche Nutzung wird urheberrechtlich verfolgt.

This document is for scientific use only (license CC BY-NC-ND), commercial use of copyrighted material will be prosecuted.

ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ
ΙΔ' Ε.Π.Κ.Α.

Η ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΥΚΗΝΑΪΚΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ

Α' Διεθνές Διεπιστημονικό Συμπόσιο
Λαμία, 25-29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1994

Mykenische Kommission
der österreichischen Akademie
der Wissenschaften
A-1010 Wien, Dr. Ignaz Seipel-Platz 2

γυν. Nr. 811

ΛΑΜΙΑ 1999

ΕΚΔΟΣΗ ΙΔ' ΕΦΟΡΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΪΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΛΑΣΣΙΚΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΩΝ

ΟΡΓΑΝΩΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ

Φανουρία Δακορώνια, Αρχαιολόγος, Προϊσταμένη ΙΔ' Ε.Π.Κ.Α.

Μάνη Παπακωνσταντίνου, Αρχαιολόγος, ΙΔ' Ε.Π.Κ.Α.

Κώστας Αμούντζιας, Διοικητικός, ΙΔ' Ε.Π.Κ.Α.

Τάκης Παπαβασιλείου, Αντιδήμαρχος Δήμου Λαμιέων

ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΟΠΤΙΚΟΥ ΥΛΙΚΟΥ

Ελένη Φρούσου

Α' ΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΗ ΑΡΘΡΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

Αριστέα Παπασταθοπούλου

ΕΚΤΥΠΩΣΗ

Γιώργος Κωστόπουλος

ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΗ

Εργαστήριο Χαρακτικής Ηλία Κουβέλη

© 1999
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ - Τ.Α.Π.Α.
ΙΔ' Ε.Π.Κ.Α.

Απαγορεύεται η ανατύπωση και αναδημοσίευση τμήματος ή του συνόλου
των κειμένων και εικόνων του παρόντος τόμου χωρίς την άδεια των συγγραφέων.

ISBN: 960 - 8063 - 31 - 0

ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΑ

ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΕΣ

xiv-x

ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ

A. ΦΥΣΙΚΟ ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΥΚΗΝΑΪΚΟΣ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ. Πρόεδρος: *Στ. Ανδρέου*

Στάθης Στείρος: Φυσικά φαινόμενα και ο πιθανός τους ρόλος στην καταστροφή του μυκηναϊκού κόσμου

1-

Fivos Papadimitriou - Athena Papadimitriou: Landscape Instability and the Late Mycenaean World

5-

B. ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΕΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΕΙΣ. Πρόεδρος: *Μ. Σακελλαρίου*

Bryan Feuer: The Mycenaean Periphery: Some Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

7-1

Κώστας Σουέρεφ: Η βόρεια περιφέρεια του μυκηναϊκού κόσμου: Προβλήματα οριοθέτησης και ερμηνείας

15-2

Irene Lemos: Some Aspects of the Transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in Central Greece

21-2

Γ. ΠΑΡΑΔΟΥΝΑΒΙΕΣ ΧΩΡΕΣ. Πρόεδρος: *Κ. Γαλλής*

Attila László: La fin de l'Âge du Bronze au Bas-Danube et le monde mycénien. Relations et chronologie

27-3

Valeriu Sirbu - Christian Schuster: Mykenische Importe und Einflüsse im Donau-Karpaten-Schwarzmeerraum. Ein Überblick

35-4

Jannos Makkay: The Mycenaean World, the Mycenaean Periphery and the Carpathian Basin

47-5

Δ. ΑΛΒΑΝΙΑ - ΒΟΡΕΙΟΔΥΤΙΚΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ (ΗΠΕΙΡΟΣ-ΙΟΝΙΑ ΝΗΣΙΑ). Πρόεδρος: *Η. Ανδρέου*

Zhaneta Andrea (Kristo): Les rapports culturels illyro-égéens à la fin de l'Âge du Bronze et durant l'Époque du Fer (περίληψη ανακοίνωσης)

55-5

Thomas F. Tartaron - Konstantinos L. Zachos: The Mycenaean Epirus

57-7

Ηλίας Ανδρέου - Ιωάννα Ανδρέου: Η κοιλάδα του Γορμού στο Πωγώνι της Ηπείρου, κέντρο ζωής και ανάπτυξης κατά την Πρώιμη εποχή του Σιδήρου

77-9

Helene Paraskevaides-De Blasi: Tribal Movements around and toward the Mycenaean World (δεν εστάλη κείμενο)

Ε. ΒΟΡΕΙΑ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ. Πρόεδρος: *Ι. Μάκκα*

Helga Donder: Pin-types of the Late Helladic and the Early Iron Age in North and Central Greece

91-9

Δημήτριος Β. Γραμμένος: Η Ύστερη εποχή του Χαλκού στη Μακεδονία με βάση τις νεότερες επιφανειακές έρευνες

99-10

Αγγελική Πιλάλη-Παπαστερίου: Η μυκηναϊκή παρουσία στη Μακεδονία. Προβλήματα και επανεκτιμήσεις

103-10

Στέλιος Ανδρέου - Κώστας Κωτσάκης: «Μυκηναϊκή παρουσία;», «Μυκηναϊκή περιφέρεια;»: Η Τούμπα Θεσσαλονίκης, μια θέση της εποχής Χαλκού στη Μακεδονία

107-11

ΣΤ. ΘΕΣΣΑΛΙΑ. Πρόεδρος: *Κ.Γ. Στυρενίου*

Ανθή Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου: Το νεκροταφείο της Νέας Ιωνίας (Βόλου) κατά τη μετάβαση από την ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ στην ΙΙΓ εποχή

117-13

Βασιλική Αδρύμη-Σισμάνη: Μυκηναϊκός κεραμικός κλίβανος στο Διμήνι

131-14

Αθανάσιος Τζιαφάλλης - Άννα Ζαούρη: Από τη βόρεια Πεερραιβία ως την αρχαία Κραννώνα: Νεκροταφεία της Πρώιμης εποχής του Σιδήρου

143-15

Ζ. ΝΟΜΟΣ ΦΘΙΩΤΙΔΟΣ. Α΄ Μέρος. Πρόεδρος: *Σ. Deger-Jalkotzy*

Ελισάβετ Νικολάου: Παιδικές ταφές "intra muros" της εσχάτης Χαλκοκρατίας από τον Κύνιο της ανατολικής Λοκρίδας

153-15

Margrit Jacob-Felsch: Ο τοπικός ρυθμός της μυκηναϊκής κεραμικής της ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ φάσης του ιερού Αρτέμιδος Καλαποδίου

157-16

Reiner C.S. Felsch: Το μυκηναϊκό ιερό στο Καλαπόδι: Λατρεία και τελετουργικό

163-17

John Coleman: Is Mitrou Homeric Opois? (δεν εστάλη κείμενο)

Μαρία-Φωτεινή Παπακωνσταντίνου: Ο ταφικός κύκλος Α της Αντρώνας. Πρώτη παρουσίαση

171-18

Η. ΝΟΜΟΣ ΦΘΙΩΤΙΔΟΣ. Β΄ Μέρος. Πρόεδρος: Σπ. Ιακωβίδης	
<i>Φανουρία Δακορώνια</i> : Νομός Φθιώτιδας: Μέρος του μυκηναϊκού κόσμου ή της περιφέρειάς του;	181-186
<i>Καίτη Δημακοπούλου</i> : Μυκηναϊκά ευρήματα από την Ελάτεια στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο	187-194
<i>Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy</i> : Elateia and Problems of Pottery Chronology	195-202
† <i>Αγνή Σακελλαρίου</i> : Παρουσίαση των σφραγίδων της Ελάτειας (δεν εστάλη κείμενο)	—
<i>Σοφία Δημάκη</i> : Νεκροταφείο Ελάτειας: Περιδέραια από στεατίτη	203-214
<i>Eva Alram-Stern</i> : The Mycenaean Figurines of Elateia	215-222
<i>Egon Reuer - Suzanne Fabrizii-Reuer</i> : Erste anthropologische Auswertung der Skelettfunde aus Elateia-Alonaki: 1. Die allgemeinen Bevölkerungsdaten. 2. Der Gesundheitszustand der Bevölkerung (δεν εστάλη κείμενο)	—
Θ. ΥΠΟΛΟΙΠΗ ΚΕΝΤΡΙΚΗ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ. Πρόεδρος: Κ. Δημακοπούλου	
<i>Sylvie Müller</i> : Ιδιομορφίες στην ταφική αρχιτεκτονική του Μεδεώνα Φωκίδας	223-234
<i>Βασίλης Αραβαντινός</i> : Κέντρο και περιφέρεια στη μυκηναϊκή Βοιωτία (περίληψη ανακοίνωσης)	235-236
Ι. ΔΥΤΙΚΗ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΟΣ. Πρόεδρος: W. Coulson	
<i>Ολυμπία Βικάτου</i> : Το μυκηναϊκό νεκροταφείο της Αγίας Τριάδας Ν. Ηλείας	237-256
<i>Χρήστος Σχοινάς</i> : Εικονιστική παράσταση σε όστρακα κρατήρα από την Αγία Τριάδα Ηλείας	257-262
<i>Birgitta Eder</i> : Ancient Elis in the Dark Ages	263-268
<i>Λένα Παπάζογλου-Μανιουδάκη</i> : Πήλινα και χάλκινα της Πρώιμης Μυκηναϊκής εποχής από την Αχαΐα	269-284
ΙΑ. ΚΥΚΛΑΔΕΣ - ΔΩΔΕΚΑΝΗΣΑ. Πρόεδρος: Ι. Pini	
<i>Έφη Καράντζαλη</i> : Νέοι μυκηναϊκοί τάφοι Ρόδου	285-300
<i>Tina McGeorge</i> : Οι άνθρωποι της Πυλώνας	301-302
<i>Ανδρέας Γ. Βλαχόπουλος</i> : Η Νάξος κατά την ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ περίοδο. Η φυσιογνωμία και ο χαρακτήρας ενός ακμαίου νησιωτικού κέντρου	303-314
<i>Robin L.N. Barber</i> : Μυκηναίοι στη Φυλακωπή;	315-320
ΙΒ. ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΜΕΣΟΓΕΙΟΣ - ΚΡΗΤΗ - ΙΤΑΛΙΑ. Πρόεδρος: Α. Σακελλαρίου	
<i>William Coulson</i> : Η Ύστερη εποχή του Χαλκού και η Πρώιμη εποχή του Σιδήρου στην περιοχή του κόλπου του Μιραμπέλλου στην ανατολική Κρήτη	321-330
<i>Ingo Pini</i> : Further Research on Late Bronze Age Aegean Glass Seals	331-338
<i>Vincenzo La Rosa</i> : «Περιφέρεια» και στο μύθο; Περιτλανήσεις στη μυκηναϊκή παρουσία στην Κρήτη και τη Σικελία	339-344
<i>Pietro Militello</i> : Οι μυκηναϊκές νωπογραφίες της Αγίας Τριάδας	345-352
<i>Elisabetta Borgna</i> : Central Crete and the Mycenaeans at the Close of the Late Bronze Age: The Evidence of the “Acropoli Mediana” at Phaistos	353-370
ΙΓ. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΥ	
<i>Σπύρος Ιακωβίδης</i>	371-374

Out of the 92 tombs which were excavated on the Alonaki hill north of the modern village of Elateia¹, 84 were rock-cut chamber tombs², mostly of Mycenaean date³. Their burial contexts included more than 500 vases, and several thousands of pottery fragments were found in the fills of the chambers and of the dromoi⁴.

According to this material, the chamber tombs of Elateia-Alonaki were continuously used from LH IIIA1 until the Middle and Late Geometric period. Of course, the individual tombs were not all cut at the same time. Nor did they fall out of use all at the same moment. But some tombs were, indeed, continuously used throughout the entire length of those five centuries or more.

Clearly such evidence will not only be useful to the study into the local history of the Phocis region during the various eras of Antiquity. This remarkable instance of longlasting funerary continuity from the Mycenaean period until the century of Homer will also have a bearing on the much discussed question of cultural continuity or discontinuity between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age of Greece. However, these aspects of the excavations at Elateia and their evidence are not the subject of this paper⁵.

In view of the longlasting use of the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery, it is hardly surprising that almost all Mycenaean finds from LH IIIA1 through LH IIIC Middle were found in secondary burial contexts. They had been either pushed aside to the walls and corners of the chambers, or else deposited in the ossuary pits cut into the floors of chambers and of dromoi. It is not until LH IIIC Late that Mycenaean ceramics were found in connection with burials *in situ*. But even those are rare enough.

In short, most of the Mycenaean pottery finds from Elateia-Alonaki will have to be dated mainly by analysis of style, right down to the LH IIIC Middle and Late periods. Dr. Katie Demakopoulou has just performed an admirable exercise of this method; I could not agree more with her analysis, classification and chronology of the Mycenaean vases found during old excavations at Elateia and now kept in the National Museum at Athens⁶.

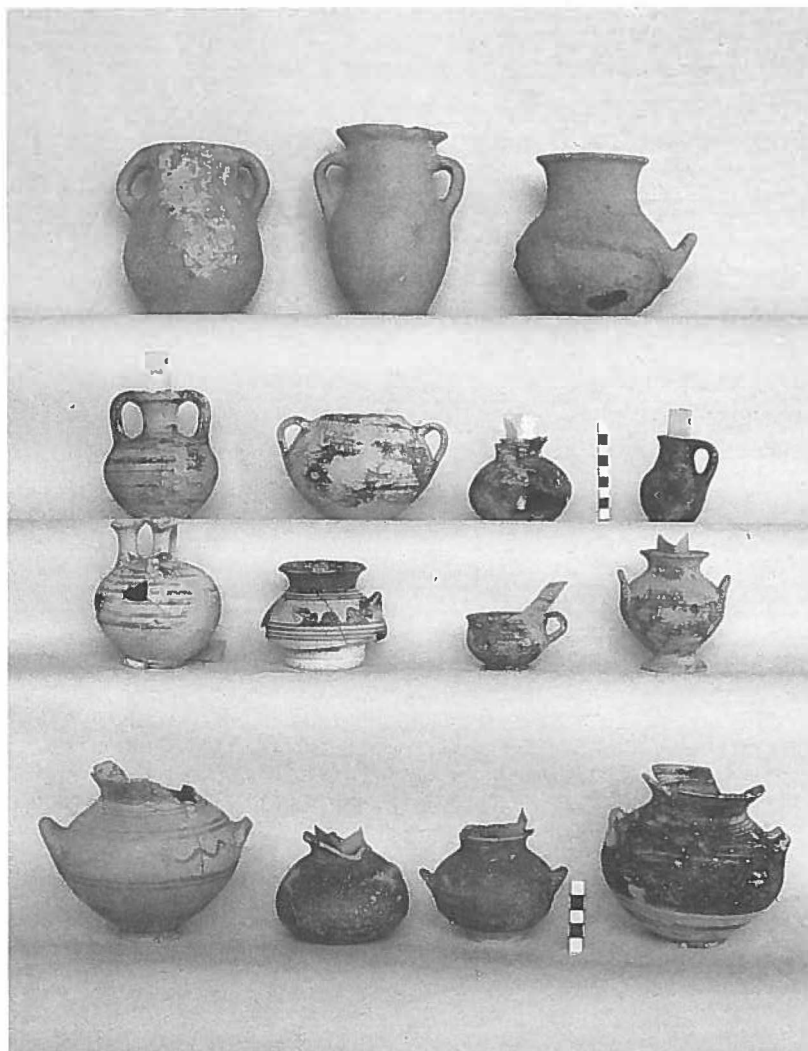
In addition to what has been said by Dr. Demakopoulou, it may be summarized that the vases of LH IIIA and B date follow the general conventions of the time, although some distinctive local features make themselves occasionally felt. The same seems to have

applied to the pottery of LH IIIC Early⁷.

By LH IIIC Middle, the Mycenaean pottery production at Elateia reached its pinnacle of achievement, thereby reflecting the general prosperity of the community during that period⁸. Imported vases attest to a first-hand knowledge of foreign pottery styles like, e.g., of the Argolid, of Achaia and of Crete⁹. However, the classification and stylistic dating of the Elateian pottery finds of LH IIIC Middle and Late is often rendered difficult by a progressive tendency towards an idiosyncratic development. A certain open-mindedness to the fashions of the time appears more often than not combined to a surprisingly tenacious adherence to the earlier traditions.

The pottery groups of Tomb XXIV and Tomb XLIX may serve for an illustration of what has been said (Figs. 1, 2). The vases placed on the bottom shelves were found in the secondary deposits of the

Fig. 1. The vases found in Tomb XXIV at Elateia-Alonaki.



tombs. They are clearly Mycenaean, down to LH IIIC Advanced and Late. The vases of the two upper shelves were found together with the burials *in situ*. Although some of them can certainly not deny a Mycenaean pedigree, these pottery products are, on the whole, of a quite different character. This is underlined by the admixture of a considerable amount of handmade pots (Fig. 3).

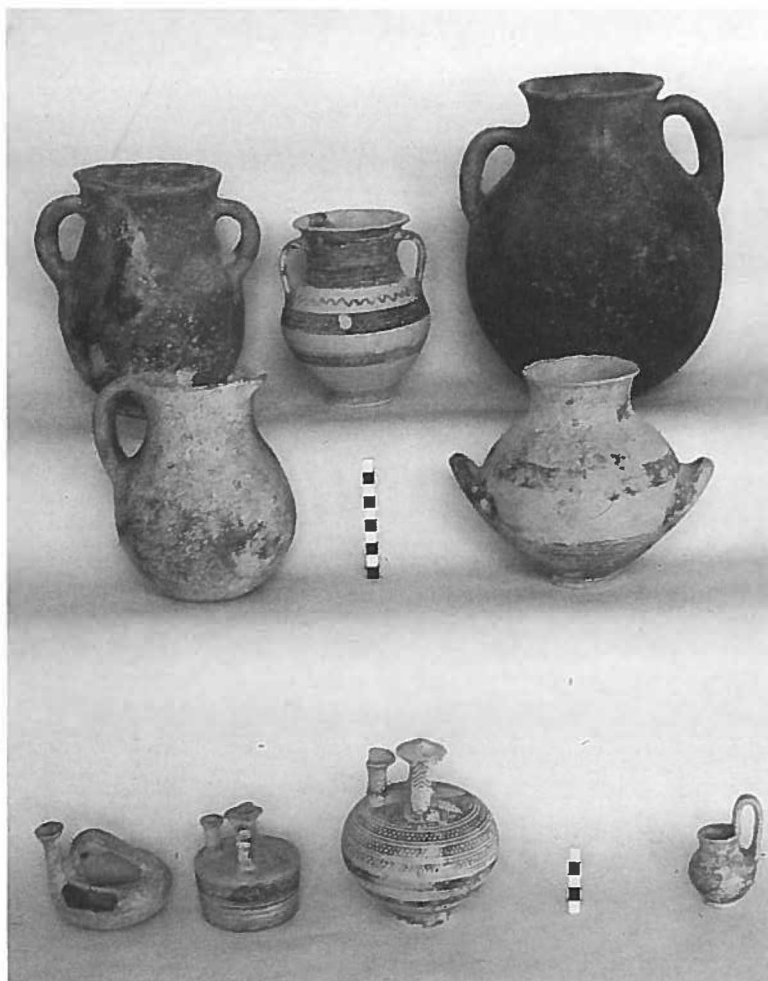
There is but little comparative material available. Among the finds that so far have been published, those from the well-known dromosless chamber tomb at Delphi come closest to the Elateian vases. They have been dated by V. Desborough to Early and Middle Protogeometric¹⁰.

We are obviously dealing here with pottery of a distinctive regional character which only occasionally betrays an acquaintance with the Submycenaean (Fig. 4) and Protogeometric¹¹ developments of Attic and Euboean ceramics.

From Middle Protogeometric and particularly Late Protogeometric onwards, an increasing influence of the so-called *koiné* of Euboea, Thessaly and some islands makes itself felt¹², of which Dr. Irene Lemos has talked yesterday.

It is therefore the pottery development from LH IIIC Late until MPG which has left us with many uncertainties and chronological difficulties.

During this crucial period of the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age the people of Elateia apparently followed out a regional development of pottery making¹³. In order to understand its consecutive phases we have been concentrating on a combined method: the stylistic analysis of the pottery series has been coupled with the study of the burial sequence of each tomb. Given the sometimes quite advanced decay of the skeletal material, this task



could not have been successfully performed without the support by our anthropologist colleagues. Prof. Egon Reuer and Dr. Susanne Reuer-Fabrizii have often helped us solving the riddle of a complicated tomb context, and my warmest thanks are due to them both. Having just finished our third studies season, we are far from having reached our final conclusions.

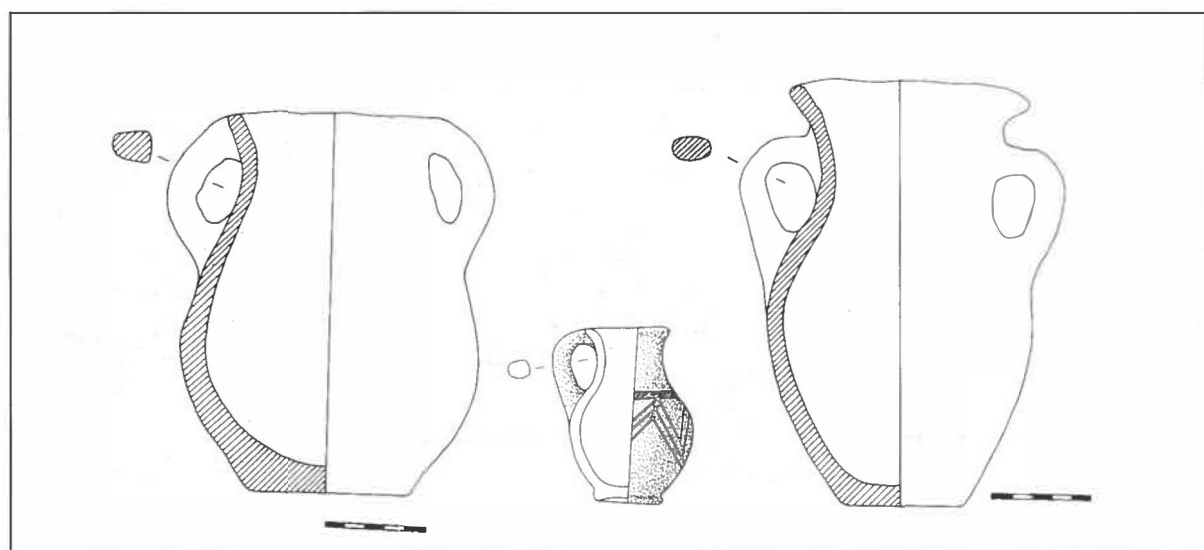


Fig. 2. The vases found in Tomb XLIX at Elateia-Alonaki.

Fig. 3. Handmade pottery of Tomb XXIV: T.XXIV/18i (left), T.XXIV/18i (centre), T.XXIV/18b (right).

Nevertheless, we are becoming increasingly aware of a remarkably persevering Mycenaean tradition particularly of LH IIIC Late character, which went alongside with the innovations of post-Mycenaean pottery making well into the PG period.

Let me start from the evidence of Tomb XXXVIII (Fig. 5). It was found intact, the stomion blocked by a slab. In the chamber no inhumation was found in a primary burial situation. The central pit contained the remains of 4 individuals; the vases date from LH IIIC Advanced (Fig. 5a). On the floor of the chamber the remains of 8 individuals were scattered mostly about the eastern part of the tomb (Fig. 5b); the vases date from LH IIIC Late and Submycenaean through Protogeometric¹⁴. Among the other finds a large arched fibula with two symmetrically placed mouldings and a swelling of the bow with a polygonal section should indicate a well advanced rather than an early phase of Protogeometric¹⁵.

According to the anthropological evidence, no skeleton was found *in situ*. It is consequently the two ash-urns found immediately behind the blocking slab of the entrance which must have contained the remnants of the last burials of this tomb. Second in the sequence came the trefoil mouthed oinochoë T.XXXVIII/7c (Fig. 6, right). Its chronology may be defined as Middle PG. However, there can be no doubt that its decorative system was still largely indebted to the Mycenaean canon particularly of LH IIIC Late. This is borne out by the languette necklace of the shoulder, as well as by the decoration of the handle.

The last burial was an incineration deposited in a four-handed amphora T.XXXVIII/7b (Fig. 6, left). It was immediately encountered after the entrance slab had been removed (Fig. 5c). It is a large vase with two belly-handles and two additional small vertical handles on the shoulder, very much of a type which



4

Fig. 4.
Submycenaean
lekythoi found at
Elateia-Alonaki.

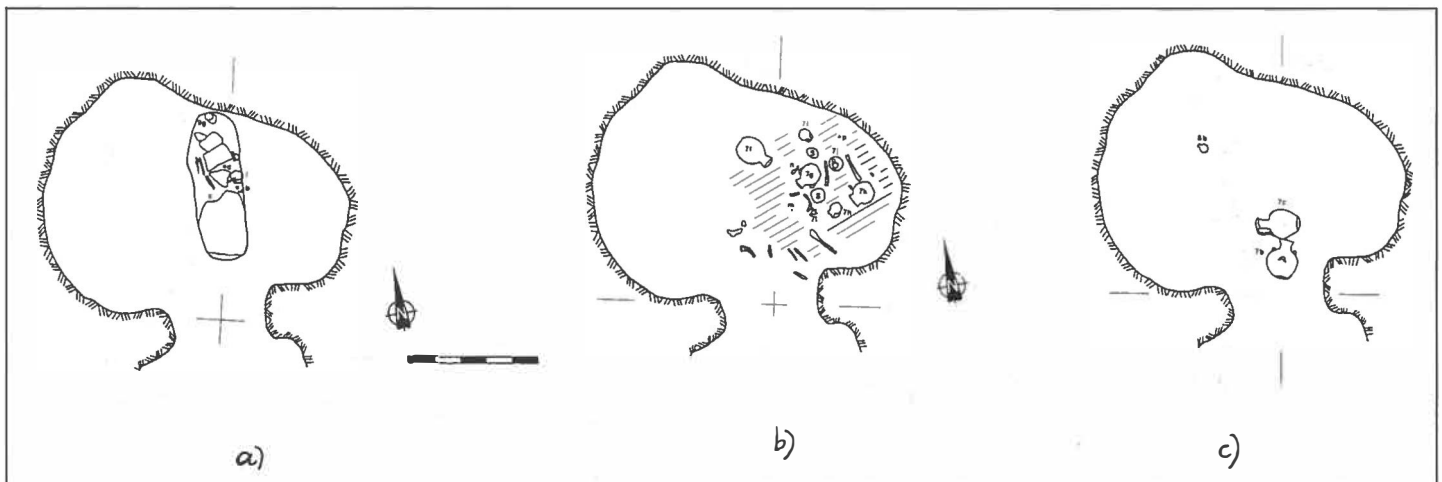
was popular in the NW-Peloponnese during LH IIIC Advanced and Late¹⁶. Indeed, by its shape and decoration this vase would well qualify for a LH IIIC Late chronology, while the quality of the paint – and perhaps the position of the belly-handles, too – could also indicate a Submycenaean date.

A vase of LH IIIC Late or Submycenaean style placed into the tomb at a period well beyond these dates, namely during the PG era, seems to imply two alternative explanations: it was either a re-used Mycenaean object found perhaps when the tomb was opened to be re-used¹⁷. Or else, vases in a pure Mycenaean tradition were still produced at a period as late as PG¹⁸.

Turning now to Tomb XLIV (Fig. 7), the last interment has a very complicated context which cannot be explained at this moment. Suffice it to mention that, according to the cup T.XLIV/10b (Fig. 8), this man was buried in Sub-Protogeometric times. The vases piled up in front of him (cf., Fig. 7, nos. 11b-e) should be dated earlier, to the main stream of Protogeometric¹⁹.

It is the heavily decayed remains of two individuals

Fig. 5. Elateia-Alonaki Tomb XXXVIII, Plana of the chamber:
a) Central pit below floor level
b) Floor level
c) Surface.



5

buried in the NE corner of the chamber that concern us here. Prof. Reuer and his wife identified them as two burials *in situ*. Along the righthand side of the man, a sorry affair of an iron sword was found (Fig. 7, no. 12d). It had been broken and mended by riveting its blade to the hilt and shoulder of yet another broken sword²¹. The woman next to him had two long dresspins lying on her shoulders, both with globular heads. One is made of bronze (Fig. 7, no. 12f), the other one entirely of iron (Fig. 7, no. 12g). Each skeleton had a vase placed next to the head: the man an oinochoë (Fig. 7, no. 12b), the woman a small jug (Fig. 7, no. 12c).

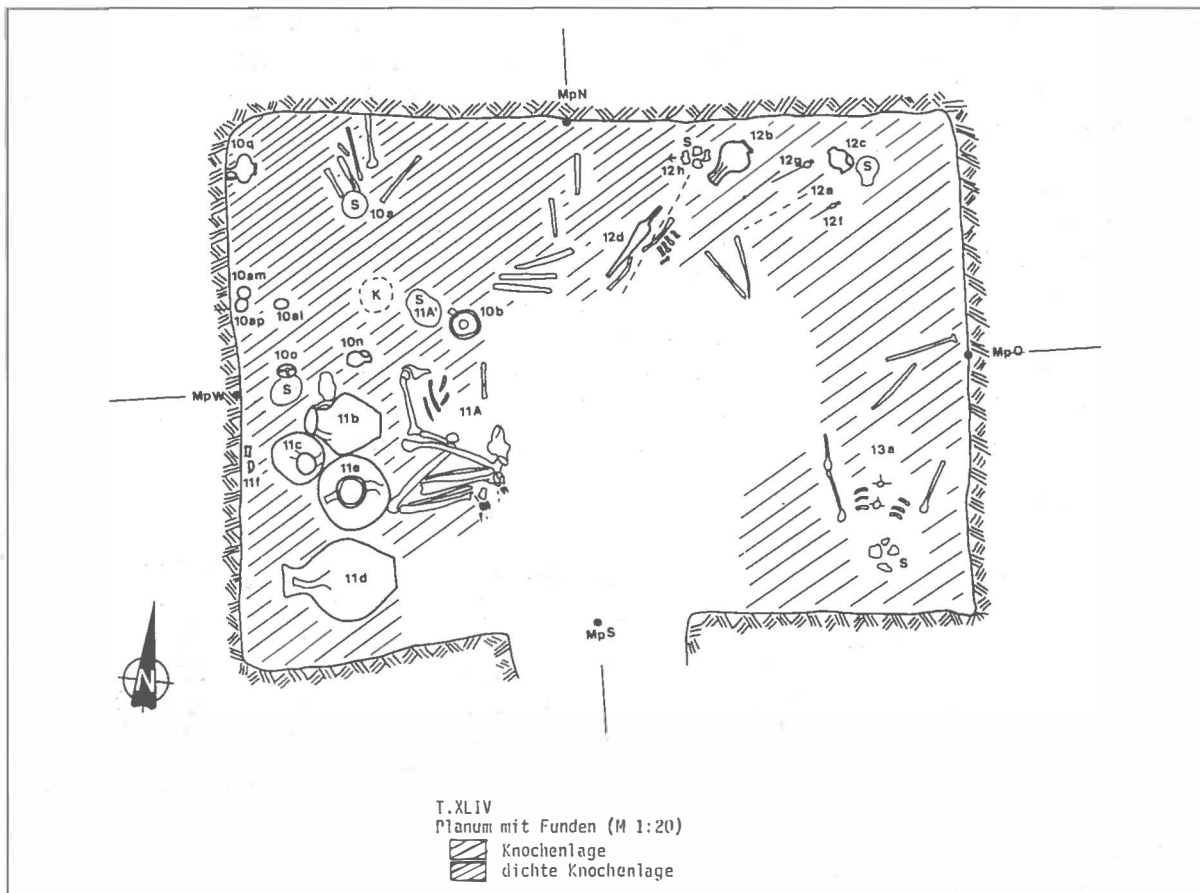
It is obvious that the decorative system of these vases particularly with regard to the handle and the shoulder was directly derived from Late Mycenaean and Submycenaean prototypes. The slightly varied decoration of the two sides of the shoulder of the oinochoë (Fig. 9) had been a hallmark of LH IIIC Late and Submycenaean. On the other hand, the well proportioned and perked up shape of this vase with its markedly conical foot, the tall slender neck and the prominent trefoil balancing against the broad-bellied biconical body, should not suggest anything earlier than PG. Moreover, the group of bands well above the belly seems to reflect, in a masked manner, the thin-



6

broad-thin syntax of PG designs of shoulder decorations.

The juglet T.XLIV/12c (Fig. 10, left), by its shape, should be placed in a line with the small jugs which were so popular in Euboea, Thessaly, Skyros and the Cyclades in EPG and particularly during MPG²¹. Differently from those, however, its system of decoration again has a lot of Mycenaean elements to



7

Fig. 6. Elateia-Alonaki Tomb XXXVIII: Amphora T.XXXVIII/7b (left) and oinochoë T.XXXVIII/7c (right)

Fig. 7. Elateia-Alonaki Tomb XLIV, Planum.

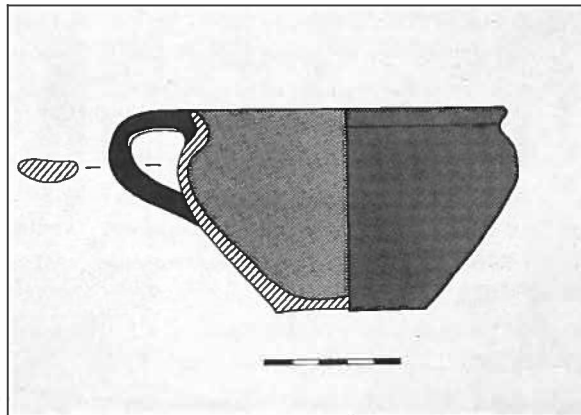
itself. This is true of the vertical wavy-line along the back of the handle, while the vertical bands following its edges end up in tails which cross the horizontal banding of the body. Moreover, the circumferent wavy-line of the shoulder zone, together with the spacing of bands and monochrome zones over the surface of the vase, clearly took their origins from the LH IIIC Late decorative conventions.

On balance, I would assign an Early PG date to these two vases and hence to the two burials accompanied by them. They would have been contemporaneous with the first PG warrior graves of the Kerameikos cemetery at Athens. This would well conform with the invalid iron sword the two parts of which had certainly had a history of their own before the thing was deposited in the tomb. It would also fall in line with the chronology which is commonly assigned to pairs of globe-headed pins one of which is made of iron, the other one of bronze. Finally, this chronology would not contradict the dating of the last burial of Tomb XLIV as described above.

The little jug T.XLIV/12c has a further chronological significance because a closely similar specimen was found on the floor of tomb LXXXVII (Fig. 10, right). It was the only burial gift of one out of the five skeletons which had been left *in situ* along the walls of the chamber. Only two other interments were also equipped with burial gifts, all made of bronze. According to Phanouria Dakoronia, who is studying the metal finds of Elateia-Alonaki, one pair of globe-headed pins and a plain arched fibula with rhomboid section allow for a Submycenaean, as well as for a PG date. However, she would not date the other pair of dress-pins of an unusual shape as to earlier than the 10th century B.C.²². Indeed, plain arched fibulae with rhomboid section also have a general chronological preponderance towards a PG date. Together with the Early PG chronology of the juglet, a chronological framework of the floor assemblage of Tomb LXXXVII within, say, two generations from Submycenaean to Early PG should therefore stand to reason.

However, the last interment of this tomb was not found among the skeletons of the chamber floor. It was deposited about 30 cm above them. A young woman was buried there and her only grave gift was an amphora decorated with compass-drawn concentric circles on the shoulder (Fig. 11a). By a clear stratigraphy, therefore, this amphora has a chronological definition by a *terminus post quem* of Early PG, or else, of the transition from Submycenaean to PG, at the earliest.

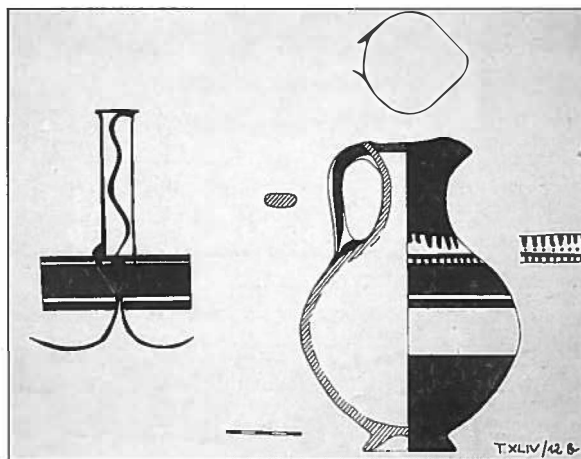
The same date of well after the inception of the PG pottery styles can also be claimed for an amphora



8 Fig. 8. Sub-Protogeometric cup T.XLIV/10b.

Fig. 9. Oinochoë T.XLIV/12b.

Fig. 10. Small jugs T.XLIV/12c (left) and T.LXXXVII/80 (right).

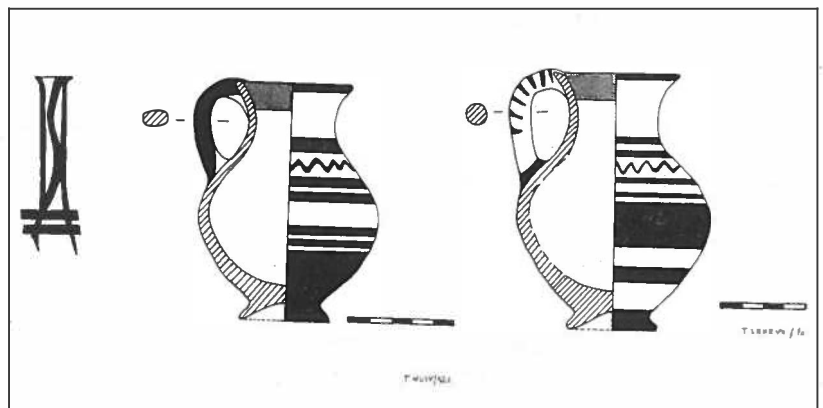


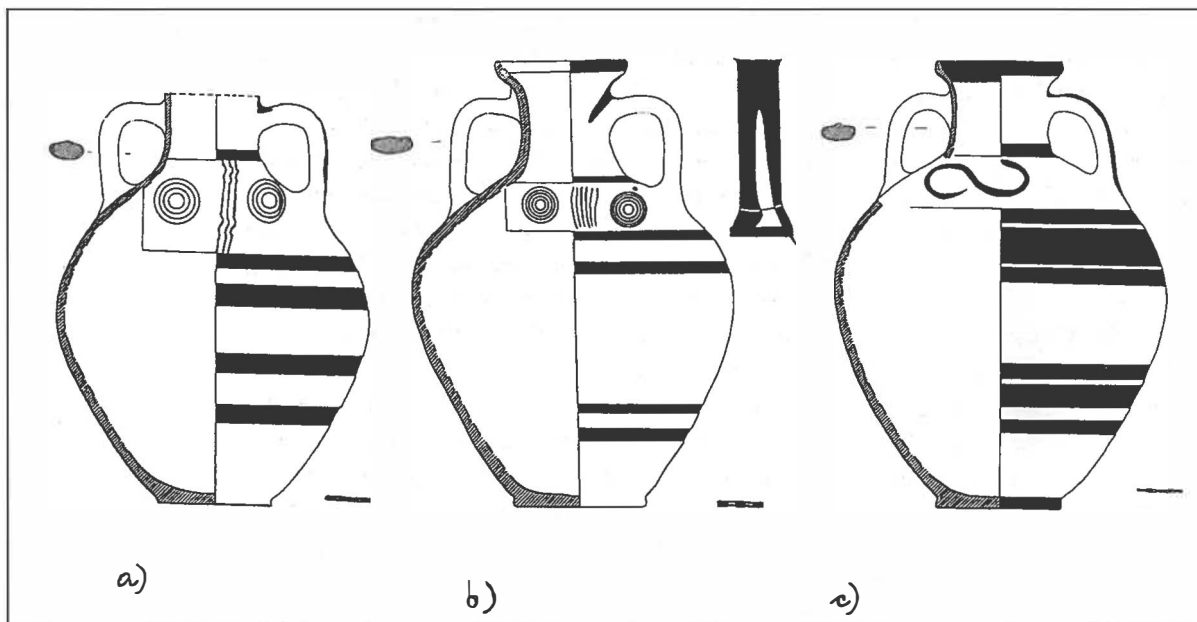
9

of the same kind found in Tomb XLIII (Fig. 11b). For lack of time, however, the burial sequence of this tomb cannot be presented today; it will be dealt with on another occasion.

Nor is there time for dwelling upon all five amphorae decorated with compass-drawn concentric circles which were so far found at Elateia. Suffice it to mention that four out of them are decorated in the same way as the one found in Tomb LXXXVII as described above. On both sides of the shoulder, a triglyph of straight or wiggly vertical lines is placed between two sets of concentric circles (Fig. 11a-b). There is no doubt that both the concentric circles and

10





the triglyphs were applied by means of a multiple brush since, e.g., the distances between the individual brush-tracks constantly remain the same, while the flaws repeat themselves at the same points or in the same position(s). Apart from the shoulder decoration, these amphorae display a simple linear decoration of the body (consisting of two bands of more or less equal width placed above the point of the largest diameter, and two similar bands below that point), as well as bands on the rim and at the base of the neck. The broad vertical stripes along the edges of the handles stretch out, at their upper ends, into long pointed tongues which cover the upper attachment of the handles on the neck of the vase. As to the execution of the decoration, these amphorae cannot boast of having been painted with great care.

The Elateian amphorae of this type rank among a remarkably widespread group of comparable vases which have been found in Central Greece, Thessaly, Macedonia²³ and recently even at Troy²⁴. Closest to our vases come an amphora sherd found in the settlement deposits at Lefkandi-Xeropolis, which was dated by V. Desborough to Late PG or Sub-PG²⁵, as well as a fragment found at Troy, according to M. Korfmann within a group of LH IIIC pottery²⁶. A Submycenaean date has been claimed for the fragments decorated with compass-drawn concentric circles which were found at Kalapodi²⁷, a site in a close neighbourhood of Elateia.

Clearly the chronology of these vases sets a problem. As for the specimens from Elateia, we have made a case for a Middle PG or an Early PG date, at the earliest. This chronology is suggested on the basis of the burial sequence. Indeed, the inferior execution

of the decoration need not necessarily point to "a very late date" of these vases, as V. Desborough had it²⁸. Dr. Jacob-Felsch may well be right interpreting their wide distribution in terms of commercial exportation²⁹. For decorating a container of serial production, two quick turns with a simple device of firmly connected thick brushes, and a spike of some kind

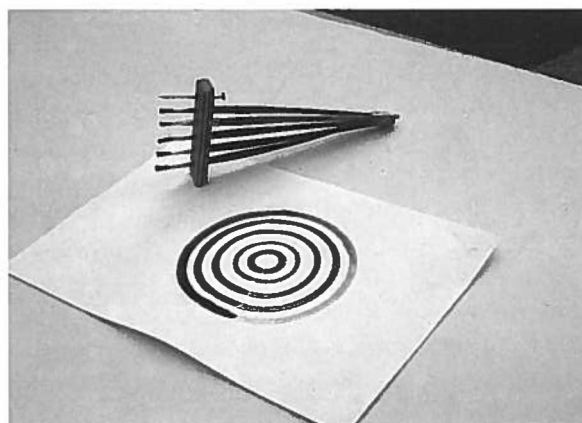


Fig. 11. Elateia-Alonaki: Large Protogeometric amphorae:
a) T.LXXXVII/5a
b) T.XLIII/21j
c) T.XXXIX beta.



Fig. 12. Compass and multiple brush (reconstruction by Ch. Vaporakis).

Fig. 13. Compass and multiple brush used on vase.

added to them, would have done. After that, a hasty vertical straight or wiggly triglyph would have been added, perhaps after removing the spike. Our Figs. 12 and 13 show a reconstruction of such a simple multiple brush plus compass. It was made by Mr. Christos Vaporakis, chief restorer of the Ephorate of Lamia, to whom many thanks are due. He also performed the demonstration of its use.

Like Dr. Jacob-Felsch, I do not believe that the amphorae bearing compass-drawn concentric circles were actually produced in Phocis. The centre of their production and distribution may have been at Athens, or else at some major place of the Thessalian-Euboean-Archipelagos *koiné*. At the present stage of research, this question cannot be decided.

Having raised my objections against "a very late" date of these vases, I would also hesitate to grant them a chronology earlier than the Athenian specimens. In this connection, I would like to touch upon a final point of this paper. At Elateia, a remarkable pair of PG amphorae were found together in T.XXXIX, side by side: one is decorated with compass-drawn concentric circles and a wiggly triglyph, while the other one bears a motif which is no less than a late survival of the Late Mycenaean scroll pattern (Fig. 11c). According to a *communis* opinion, this motif did not occur after the end of LH IIIC³⁰. However, some workshops outside of the trendsetting centres still used it right until the Protogeometric era.

In short, the occupation with the pottery from Elateia has taught me one lesson: Rather than revolutionize the chronology of pottery styles and of metal objects of the central regions, it may be preferable to consider the alternative idea of a survival of Mycenaean traditions in the peripheral regions until well into the first millennium B.C.

Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy
Institut für Alte Geschichte
und Altertumskunde
Residenzplatz 1
A-5020 Salzburg
Österreich

Notes

1. I would like to express my sincerest thanks to Dr. Phanouria Dakoronia, Ephor of the Phthiotis district at Lamia, for having invited the Institute of Ancient History at the University of Salzburg to participate at the systematic excavations of the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery. From 1988 until 1991, a joint Greek (under the direction of Dr. Ph. Dakoronia) and Austrian

(under my direction) mission excavated 70 tombs. Before that, the Ephorate of Lamia had excavated between 1985 and 1987 the first 22 tombs, by way of salvage operations. For a first report on the Greek-Austrian excavations, cf. S. Deger-Jalkotzy - Ph. Dakoronia, "Elateia (Phokis) und die frühe Geschichte der Griechen. Ein österreichisch-griechisches Grabungsprojekt", in: *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 127, Jahrgang 1990 (Wien 1991), 77-86. For short reports, cf. the volumes of *Archaiologikon Deltion* referring to the years 1985ff., and of *Archaeological Reports* from 1988 onwards.

2. Tombs of Roman date contained single burials which were deposited in pits and shafts cut into the bedrock and covered by tiles. It should be added that several Mycenaean chamber tombs were re-used during the Roman period and sometimes redesigned to be used as funerary chapels. The Roman finds from Elateia are being studied and prepared for publication by our Greek partners.

3. Apart from the canonical type of Mycenaean chamber tombs, the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery also displayed several chamber tombs of latest Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean date: although they still adhere to the idea of this tomb-type, their shaping and dimensions did not come up to the true Mycenaean standard. Cf. S. Deger-Jalkotzy (as n. 1), 84f.

4. The dromos fills of 14 chamber tombs have been studied by A.E. Weiss, *Fragmente bemalter mykenischer Keramik aus Gräbern von Elateia* (M.A. Thesis, Salzburg 1993).

5. A general treatment of this subject can be found in Deger-Jalkotzy - Dakoronia (as n. 1).

6. Cf. the contribution by K. Demakopoulou in this volume.

7. The LH IIIA-IIIC Early pottery finds from Elateia-Alonaki are being studied, as a dissertation project, by A.E. Bächle-Weiss (Salzburg), who has already published some of the pottery material found in the dromos fills (cf. n. 4).

8. Cf. Deger-Jalkotzy (as n. 1), 80ff.

9. *Ibid.*, figs. 5, 6, 8.

10. V.R.D'A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages* (London 1972), 203-205. The tomb was first published by L. Lerat, *BCH* 61 (1937), 44-52.

11. Some specimens may be singled out from the illustration given in Deger-Jalkotzy (as n. 1), fig. 13.

12. Cf. Deger-Jalkotzy (as n. 1), fig. 11.

13. *Ibid.*, and p. 82.

14. A large handmade PG jug is illustrated in *ArchRep* 1989-90, 48, fig. 40.

15. The piece is on show in the new Archaeological Museum of Lamia. The metal finds from Elateia-Alonaki are being studied for publication by Dr. Ph. Dakoronia.

16. Cf. Th. Papadopoulos, *Mycenaean Achaea* (Göteborg 1978), figs. 52-62.

17. As Sophia Dimaki will demonstrate in her paper, these things did happen at Elateia.

18. For a similar phenomenon in the field of the coroplastic art, cf. the paper of Dr. Eva Alram.
19. They are all on show in the new Archaeological Museum of Lamia.
20. As n. 15.
21. Cf. V.R.D'A. Desborough, in: M.R. Popham - P. Themelis, *Lefkandi I. The Iron Age Settlement. The Cemeteries* (London 1979/80), 322ff., pls. 100, 111; N. Verdelis, *O protogeometrikos rhythmos tis Thessalias* (Athens 1958), pls. 5.30-35, 15.7-8 (Naxos).
22. Dr. Helga Eiwanger-Donder has kindly confirmed this date. The pieces in point are on show in the new Archaeological Museum of Lamia.
23. Cf. M. Jacob-Felsch, "Compass-Drawn Concentric Circles in Vase Painting. A Problem of Relative Chronology at the End of the Bronze Age", in: E.B. French - K.A. Wardle (eds.), *Problems in Greek Prehistory* (Bristol 1988), 193-198, esp. 197f.
24. Cf. M. Korfmann, "Troia: A Residential and Trading City at the Dardanelles", in: R. Laffineur - W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *Politeia. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age, 5th International Aegean Conference, Heidelberg, 10-13 April 1994* (proceedings in press).
25. V.R.D'A. Desborough, in: *Lefkandi I* (as n. 14), 54 and pl. 27.776.
26. As n. 24.
27. As n. 23.
28. As n. 25.
29. M. Jacob-Felsch (as n. 23), 198.
30. Cf. Fr. Schachermeyr, *Griechenland im Zeitalter der Wanderungen vom Ende der mykenischen Ära bis auf die Dorier. Die Ägäische Frühzeit IV* (Wien 1980), 185; P.A. Mountjoy, "LH IIIC versus Submycenaean", *JdI* 103 (1990), 15.